

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----089156 180718Z /23

R 171805Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4973
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 03149

EXDIS

USEEC

PARIS FOR USOECD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, EEC
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES

REF: STATE 38167

1. AS A GENERAL PROPOSITION, LARGER EC MEMBER STATES
TEND TO FAVOR, OR AT LEAST ARE RARELY WHOLLY OPPOSED TO,
SMALL AD HOC CONSULTATIONS, WHILE SMALLER MEMBER STATES
ARE EITHER FIERCELY RESISTANT OR RESIGNED (DEPENDING ON
THE ISSUE) UNLESS THEY HAPPEN TO BE INCLUDED IN THE
SELECT GROUP OF CONSULTEES. WE HAVE SEEN HOW VOCIFEROUSLY,
AND IN THE END SUCCESSFULLY, SMALL EC STATES HAVE DEMANDED
THAT EC AS SUCH BE REPRESENTED AT LONDON-TYPE ECONOMIC
SUMMITS. WE RIGHTLY CONCLUDED THAT IT IS IN THE U.S.
INTEREST AS WELL TO HAVE BOTH EC COMMISSION AND EC
PRESIDENCY COUNTRY PRESENT AT SUCH SUMMITS.

2. THE RECENT WASHINGTON MEETING ON THE HORN OF AFRICA,
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FROM WHICH SUCH EC NINE MEMBER STATES AS BELGIUM WERE
EXCLUDED, DEMONSTRATED THE NEED FOR GREATER SENSITIVITY
TO SMALL-STATE CONCERNS IF U.S. IS TO PROTECT ITS POLI-
TICAL TIES TO ALL EC MEMBER STATES, TO GAIN MAXIMUM
WEST EUROPEAN INSIGHT INTO PROBLEMS UNDER DISCUSSION,
AND TO PERSUADE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF THE
IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES TO THE EXISTING FORMAL U.S.-EC

DIALOGUE IN FOREIGN POLICY. I AM IMPRESSED BY, AND
LARGELY SHARE, JIM LOWENSTEIN'S VIEWS (LUXEMBOURG 191)
ON THE RISKS TO THE SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR
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OBJECTIVES IF WE RELY OVERLY MUCH OR TOO OFTEN ON THE
QUADRIpartite MECHANISM. SUCH RELIANCE APPEARS TO REWARD
THE FRENCH FOR THEIR INTRANSIGENCE ON CONSULTATIONS
WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FRAMEWORK, AND ENCOURAGES THE OTHERS
TO TAKE THEIR OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THEIR EC AND OTHER
NATO PARTNERS LESS SERIOUSLY. IN THE LONG RUN, THIS CAN
ONLY BE SELF-DEFEATING.

3. I SUPPOSE THERE REALLY ARE NO GENERAL RULES APPLICABLE
TO WHERE, WHEN, AND HOW WE SHOULD CONSULT. BUT I WOULD
NEVERTHELESS SUGGEST THAT THE KEY LIES IN AN ACCURATE
ASSESSMENT OF WHERE POWER OF DECISION LIES AND THE TIME
HORIZON WITHIN WHICH ACTIONS ARE JUDGED TO BE NECESSARY.
SINCE THE COMMUNITY, THE ALLIANCE, AND OECD ARE IMPORTANT
INSTRUMENTALITIES BOTH TO US AND TO THEIR MEMBERS, ONE
SHOULD, I BELIEVE, TRY IN ALL CASES TO CONSIDER THE
DESIRABILITY AND FEASIBILITY OF USING THESE INSTITUTIONS
TO ADVANCE OUR PURPOSES.

4. EVEN WHEN WE CONSCIOUSLY CONCLUDE THAT REAL POWER
LIES IN A NATIONAL CAPITAL AND WHEN RESPONSE TIMES
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REQUIRE URGENT AND SENSITIVE APPROACHES ONLY IN A FEW
PLACES, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT FAILURE SOMEHOW TO LET
THE NINE OR OUR ALLIES KNOW EVEN IN MORE GENERALIZED
TERMS THAT WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN A SUBJECT CAN BE COSTLY.
IT SEEMS TO ME WE SHOULD AVOID AN EFFORT TO KEEP OUR
FRIENDS INFORMED IN A GENERAL WAY OF WHAT IS GOING ON
ONLY WHEN WE COULD ANTICIPATE SUCH BROADER CONSULTATION
MIGHT PROVOKE REAL DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING OUR CHOSEN
PARTNERS TO MOVE IN THE DIRECTION WE WANT. BUT INCREASINGLY
THE GREATER DANGER, I THINK, IS THAT A PROCESS OF LIMITED
CONSULTATION WILL PRODUCE RESENTMENTS WITHIN THE NINE
AND WITHIN THE ALLIANCE ON THE PART OF THOSE EXCLUDED
WHICH INEVITABLY WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY DAMAGING TO THE
INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE ALLIANCE.
MOREOVER, WHEN TIME PERMITS, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE
SMALLER COUNTRIES ARE OFTEN EXTRAORDINARILY EFFECTIVE
ADVOCATES WITHIN THE COMMUNITY, AND POSSIBLY ALSO IN
NATO, FOR OUR POINT OF VIEW. IF WE TAKE THEM SERIOUSLY,
A MINIMUM EFFORT OF CONSULTATION HAS THE POTENTIAL OF
SIGNIFICANT PAY-OFF.

5. AS TO WAYS TO IMPROVE OUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DIALOGUE

WITH THE NINE, CLEARLY TIMELINESS AND QUALITY OF OUR
INPUTS ARE CRUCIAL. IN ADDITION, PARTICULARLY ON OECD
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ISSUES WHICH TEND TO FALL MORE IN THE AREA OF COMMUNITY
RESPONSIBILITY PURSUANT TO THE TREATIES RATHER THAN IN
THE AREA OF POLITICAL COOPERATION AMONG THE NINE, IT IS,
I BELIEVE, INCUMBENT UPON THIS MISSION TO DEVELOP MORE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 03149

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EFFECTIVE WAYS FOR WORKING DIRECTLY WITH THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTA-
TIVES. GIVEN RESIDUAL SENSITIVITIES HERE TO WHAT WAS
SEEN AS THE "YEAR OF EUROPE" EFFORT TO GET A 10TH SEAT
AT THE TABLE, THIS IS NOT EASY AND I AM CERTAIN THAT IN
THE NEAR TERM THERE ARE NO FORMAL INSTITUTIONAL ANSWERS.
BUT THE SEARCH FOR PRAGMATIC OPPORTUNITIES TO
DEVELOP THIS RELATIONSHIP MUST GO ON, PARTICULARLY SINCE
THE DISTINCTION WITHIN THE NINE BETWEEN POLITICAL CO-
OPERATION AND DIRECT COMMUNITY CONCERNS IS INCREASINGLY
BLURRED.

6. IN SUM, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO REMEMBER THAT THERE
ARE SENSITIVITIES IN EUROPE ABOUT HOW AND WITH WHOM WE
CONSULT, AND THAT THE USE OF ONE MECHANISM OR GROUP
BECAUSE IT IS LIKELY TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE SHOULD NOT

NECESSARILY PRECLUDE SIMULTANEOUS OR SUPPLEMENTARY USE
OF OTHER EXISTING CHANNELS WHEN FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD
EXACERBATE THOSE SENSITIVITIES. ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS
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THE U.S.-EC PRESIDENCY CHANNEL ON MAIN FOREIGN POLICY
ISSUES IN WHICH WE KNOW THE NINE ARE CONSULTING
INTERNALLY, WE BELIEVE ITS USE, ALONG WITH NATO, CAN
HELP ADVANCE U.S. INTERESTS. HINTON

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